1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

natural help first arose. Again, there are long passages of the myth 773
that are unconnected with ritual and unknown, even to some ceremonialists. Still, it serves to place some of the supernaturals and the ceremonies they instituted.

The myth takes the usual southwestern form—a long prose narrative, interspersed with songs at points of crisis. The story is told in the narrator's own words, but the songs are, supposedly, those sung by the supernaturals and their followers when the Papago world was young. The songs, therefore, should always be the same, even though the narrative varies for each storyteller. If this was ever the case, it is so no longer. A few songs are so important that [184]
they always appear, but there are long cycles which are sung in one village, but not in another. The relevant prose chapters appear and disappear in the same way.[1] One is reminded of many Pueblo and Navaho myths which, after a common introduction, diverge to describe exploits concerning particular groups or ceremonies.

There are only a few accredited narrators. One can be found in 538
every dialect division, though by no means in every village. Each narrator has received his lore from some relative, usually in the male line, and has learned it by the tedious process of repeatedly hearing the whole, without interruption, from beginning to end. He will hand it on in the same way to some young man, chosen for intelligence and a retentive memory. If suitable heirs are scarce, he may choose from the mother's side of the family, and even women have sometimes qualified. Members of the narrator's audience, too, may learn fragments of the tale and become informal narrators to small groups.

No central body passes on the correctness of any narrative. Each 773
village is a law unto itself, holding tight to its local version of myth 538
and ceremony. Here is no organized body of ceremonialists, intent on welding a theology into shape. Instead, there are a number of individualists, growing farther apart as lapses of memory and imaginative substitutions tend to change their narratives.

[1] The above statement would probably apply to the whole of Pimeria Alta for the Pima myth (Russell, pp. 206–42; 272–82) is essentially the same as the Papago. It would, in fact, appear to be better preserved, for it names more supernaturals than does the Papago version, and its details are more logically presented. See notes on pp. 8, 10, 11.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The Papago have the usual southwestern rule that myths shall not be narrated in summer. They wait until the biting creatures are asleep, and desert people include among these not only rattlesnakes, sidewinders, and gila monsters but also vinegaroons, tarantulas, and even the stinging ants. One informant, persuaded to tell a fragment of the tale out of season, went for weeks in fear of a flood. The official time for myth telling is during the four days of the winter solstice "when the sun stands still." Then residents of the narrator's village approach him with a handful of cornmeal, asking that he spend four nights in telling the story from beginning to end. He fasts from meat, grease, and salt during the whole time, and the old rule demanded sexual continence also. The listeners must sit upright all night, keep silent, and not doze. If the narrator sees someone sleeping, even a child, he may break off the narrative for that night.

Besides this official narration, which amounts almost to a communal ceremony, the myth may be told at any time from November to March, after suitable gifts to the narrator. The writer heard it in this way from two accredited mythtellers, one (informant 9) from the northern Papago, and one(10) from the southern. Incomplete versions came from a number of different villages(19, 20, 29). Each narrator used free, colloquial prose, though Indian hearers reported that a narrator's phraseology was about the same whenever they heard him. However, the style varied greatly. The first narrator, an elderly man, was brief and terse. The second, who was younger, embellished his narrative with similes, descriptions, and dramatic dialogue in the voices of men and animals.

The chief events, culled from all the versions, may be listed as follows:

1. In the beginning, all was darkness. Earthmaker and Yellow Buzzard [4] were floating in the void. They met four times, and each urged the other to make a world.

2. Earthmaker took "something from his heart," or "the dirt from

[4] Yellow Buzzard of the Papago is the turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura septentrionalis*). He is the totem of one of the moieties, which accounts for his prominence in the creation myth. The Pima, whose totems are more often spoken of as red and white ants (*ibid.*, p. 197), make Earth Doctor the sole primeval being (*ibid.*, pp. 206–7).

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

GRANDPARENT CLASS. The four words for grandparent indicate an equal importance in all four individuals, subject to the determining factor of propinquity. The grandparents in the male line were normally the leaders and teachers of the whole family group, parents and children alike. The young parents were often away from home, on the active tasks of food getting and it was the grandparents who trained the children in crafts and in moral behavior. A Papago, in looking back on his early education, thinks not of his father but of his grandfather. The loss which would disrupt his home in early life would be that of grandparents, not parents.

The grandfather, in particular, was the moral mentor, talking to the children nightly and waking them before dawn with homilies on virtue and industry. It was he who recited the myths in the proper season and, if there was ritual knowledge to be passed down in the family, he often selected the grandson to receive it.

As the grandfather grew older, he benignantly abdicated his post of family head and the most energetic of his sons managed the family business. The grandfather now became the constant companion of the children and even at present, it is he who normally sits holding the baby while the younger members of the family are at work. When he grew older still, it was the grandchildren who waited on him while the parents did harder tasks. In rare cases where a grandfather happened not to live with the family group, children were detailed to stay with him.

Informant 23 lived in a village from which all his sons had moved away. When he grew too old to work his fields his grandsons in the male line were already grown and married. He rode to his daughter's house and asked for a boy to live with him. "She and her husband didn't say anything. They just told the boy: Get your things and go with your grandfather." Informant 43 was sent regularly during the dry season to live with her paternal grandfather's sister and fetch water for her from the spring a mile away.

The paternal grandmother directed the women of the home group, as the grandfather directed the men. Little girls generally slept on a mat with her and it was she who taught them cooking and basketry while their mothers were out food gathering. She cared for the children while their mother was in the segregation hut, at menstrual periods and childbirth. Moreover, a young father was sure to undergo several periods of ceremonial purification, during which his wife was secluded also. Then the grandmother cooked for the children, instructed them in behavior and gave them their ritual baths. She remained in the home group until her death and if, her husband died first, would be taken into the family of one of her sons where she would continue her duties (I. 5. B. 1; I. 1. A. 3).

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

the Spaniards instituted the office of governor and the Americans continued it. Chona's father was the governor of Mesquite Root (kuitatk), an ancient village now abandoned, and Chona spent her girlhood there under conditions differing very little from those of pre-Spanish days.

The story of her past was her constant preoccupation, and snatches of it were narrated at every apportunity. Most of it was taken through an interpreter, for, though the writer spoke a little Papago and Chona a little Spanish, it seemed desirable that her words should be transcribed exactly. They were not taken in text but in as accurate a translation as the writer, engaged in a study of Papago grammar, could work out. The wording, therefore, expresses Chona's thought as accurately as may be.

The arrangement, however, is the writer's. Chona is ninety years old and her memory works with the fitfulness of age, presenting incidents in repetitious confusion. The only possible system was to write each one separately, add to it all the amendments which occurred to her during the years of our acquaintance, and then to question her patiently about the chronology until the correct order was worked out. She repeated each episode so often, however, that there was finally no question as to their sequence.

But the matter of accuracy in both chronology and wording being settled, there still remain, in presenting an Indian autobiography, important questions of technique. Indian narrative style involves a repetition and a dwelling on unimportant details which confuse the White reader and make it hard for him to follow the story. Motives are never explained and the writer has found even Indians at a loss to interpret them in the older myths. Emotional states are summed up in such colorless phrases as "I liked it," "I did not like it." For one not deeply immersed in the culture, the real significance escapes.

The writer felt most deeply the objections to distorting Chona's narrative. Yet if it had been written down exactly as she herself emitted it, there would have been immense emphasis on matters strange to her but commonplace to Whites and complete omission of some of the most interesting phases in her development. Therefore a pattern was followed. While the essentials of the narratives were retained it is hoped at every point, many of the repetitions were excised and the reader is warned of this fact just as he is warned, in the preface to a grammar, that certain phonetic changes regularly take place.

On the other hand, Chona was not allowed to pass over the crises of her life with a mere word. While she had no objection to expressing her emotional states, she took them for granted. But, on being asked, she would amplify in such vivid phrases as "Fear went through me like a snake."

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

X 159 755 others blew and cleaned me, too. Then Squirrel Ear sang four songs and then they brushed again. I went to sleep. But they sang and cleansed me all night and my father smoked and sang with them, because he was an Enemy Slayer. Women must not sing those songs, so my mother sat and listened, and at midnight she brought them beans and succotash. They sang the last song at dawn and then they went away.

I began to feel better as soon as they started singing. I had not slept for two days, but I slept that night. In two days I was well.

X 159 787 But I used to dream after that. Sometimes I would think I saw the little men, the Prisoners, climbing down the house posts out of their basket and looking at me. They would point to their mouths and ask for food because, perhaps, my father had not fed them enough. Sometimes, when I was in the desert digging roots, I would see the centipedes and the little red spiders talking together, planning how to make rain. Just after daybreak I would see a coyote darting past the house and I would know he had come to see me.

X 159 633 I knew all about Coyote and the things he can do, because my father told us the stories about how the world began and how Coyote helped our Creator, Elder Brother, to set things in order. Only some men know these stories, but my father was one of them. On winter nights, when we had finished our gruel or rabbit stew and lay back on our mats, my brothers would say to him: "My father, tell us something."

My father would lie quietly upon his mat with my mother beside him and the baby between them. At last he would start slowly to tell us about how the world began. This is a story that can be told only in winter when [825] there are no snakes about, for if the snakes heard they would crawl in and bite you. But in winter when snakes are asleep, we tell these things. Our story about the world is full of songs, and when the neighbors heard my father singing they would open our door and step in over the high threshold. Family by family they came, and we made a big fire and kept the door shut against the cold night. When my father finished a sentence we would all say the last word after him. If anyone went to sleep he would stop. He would not speak any more. But we did not go to sleep.

X 159 796 My father's story told us all about why we hold our big feasts, because Elder Brother showed us how in the beginning of the world. My father went to those feasts and he took us, too, because my father was a song maker and he had visions even if he was not a medicine man. He always made a song for the big harvest festival, the one that keeps the world going right and that only comes every four years.

We all went then, from all over our country to the Place of the Burnt Seeds. We camped together, many, many families together, and we made

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

relation of the sun to the gap of the Sierra Estrella, the chief purpose being to determine the latest period at which it was possible to plant crops and have them mature before frost. Chico Bailey said his grandfather relied upon the position of the rising sun with reference to a certain point on Baboquivari Mountain to determine when it was too late to plant; also that the Papagos at Pisinemo used a similar spot in the Ajo Mountains for the same purpose.

Tribal Papago traditions were passed on by word of mouth from official narrators to the youths. While these tales might be told at any time upon request, particularly in winter months, the creation myth was always formally and officially related during the sacred four-day solstice period. Pima and Papago annals, in reality records of important events, were kept on a stick variously notched or carved to designate special happenings.[7]

Planting

Time and Number of Plantings

Wherever any group of Pimans anciently pursued agriculture based upon irrigation from more or less permanently running streams or springs, planting was begun as soon as possible after danger of frost had passed, contingent upon an available supply of water at such time. But among all those Pimans who were dependent upon flood water from the washes the time of the single planting was governed entirely by the occurrence of summer rains, which usually began at any time from late June to mid-July. Aboriginally, groups having a rather constant supply of running water usually made two plantings, the first when danger of frost was past and the ground warm enough for seed germination, the second sometime after sahuaro harvest, depending upon the availability of water for irrigation, but rarely any later than mid-August because of danger from early frosts. Thus, in

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-36; Underhill, *A Papago Calendar Record*; Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-66.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Among tribes previously studied a considerable number of songs have been recorded with instrumental accompaniment, the rhythm of which is indicated in the transcription of the song. This was impossible among the Papago as they use no percussion instrument with a loud tone. A limited number of songs were recorded with the accompaniment of a gourd rattle but the phonograph record of the instrument is not clear. It was manifestly impossible to record the pounding on an inverted basket, with which certain classes of songs are accompanied. One song (No. 125) was accompanied with rasping sticks, this being indicated in the transcription.

PHONETICS

CONSONANTS

c is pronounced like ch in *church*.
g as in *get*.
j is pronounced like *j* in *judge*.
h is pronounced as in *how*.
ḥ represents a gutteral sound as used in Sioux words.
k as in *kin*.
ŋ represents a nasal sound as used in Sioux words.
p as in *pin*.
s as in *same*.
š as in *shall*.
t as in *tin*.
ž is pronounced as in *azure*.
th represents a hard sound like *dh*.

VOWELS

a as in *father*.
e as in *they*.
ĕ as in *met*.
i as in *marine*.
ĭ as in *knit*.
o as in *note*.
ŭ as in *but*.
u as in *rule*.
ü as the German ü.
y as in *yet*.

DIPTHONGS OR CONNECTED VOWELS

oi pronounced like *oy* in *arroyo*.
ai pronounced like *ai* in *aisle*.
au pronounced like *ow* in *now*.

Two dots above a vowel are used only to indicate that that vowel has a sound separate from the vowel which immediately precedes it.

SONGS CONNECTED WITH LEGENDS

The Papago watch the stars and when they see the Pleiades cross the sky in one night they say that the proper time for story telling has arrived. These nights are the longest of the year, and the Pleiades rise in the east at evening, cross the zenith, and set in the

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

[52] 538 west just before sunrise, their setting being considered the end of the night. Comparatively few men are considered competent to tell the old tribal stories, and it is often necessary to send a long distance to secure their services. Two men go together, one telling the stories and the other assisting him. These men tell stories four nights and, in that time, can relate the entire series, beginning with the creation. There are said to be six divisions of the Papago tribe, [197] each speaking a different dialect and having its own version of these stories. The words of the songs differ slightly in the several dialects but it is said that the melodies are always the same. The stories here presented are from the divisions of the tribe living at San Xavier and at Vomari. The more complete stories were related by Sivariano Garcia of San Xavier, who is not one of the regular story tellers but has been an attentive listener, thus learning the stories and their songs.

There are two classes of tribal stories. The first and most important class consists of stories that must be told in a prescribed order, while the stories in the second class may be combined in any desired order to form a night's story telling. To the first class belong the following: (1) The ashes people; (2) the gambler; (3) the old woman who ate the children; and (4) the peacock. To the second class belong the stories of the origin of the flute, also that of corn and tobacco, which is called the "mind clearer." The principal character in these stories is Elder Brother (also called Montezuma and Ithoi), and the more important stories relate his adventures with Earth Magician (Teivut makai), Coyote, Brown Buzzard, Beater Wind and other personages. In each story there are pauses at about equal intervals, the usual number being three, though some stories contain only two. These pauses always occur at the same places and are introduced at points of special interest. The story teller says, "Now we will smoke," or announces the pause in some similar phrase, and the people are at liberty to lie down, walk about, or go outside the lodge. During the telling of the story they are required to sit up and pay strict attention. There is no feast in connection with the stories, but tobacco is given the story tellers before they begin their work.

113 It is not the intention of the present work to enter into a detailed consideration of Papago mythology. The only versions of the stories here offered are those that were recorded in connection with the songs. The first and second stories of the principal series are given in extended form; the third and fourth stories may be summarized as follows: There was an old woman who used to go around the villages, picking up the children and calling them her grandchildren. Then she carried them away, crushed them and ate them. At last the people decided they must get rid of her, so Elder Brother went to her house and said, "There is a big dance in the next house.

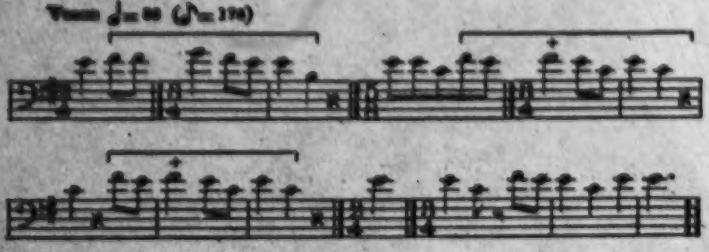
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The foregoing story of the origin of the flute was recorded at San Xavier in March, 1920. The following autumn it was read to Papago at Sells, who said the inclusion of the bamboo game was a Pima version, and that in the true Papago version of the story the boy killed his grandfather after playing the "stick game" with him. They said the wonder boy challenged his grandfather to the game and, as the two sat facing each other preparatory to playing, he sang the following song, recorded by a man living at San Xavier. (Pl. 13, b.)

No. 42. "I Will Toss Up the Sticks"

(Catalogue No. 1066)

Recorded by Leonardo Rios



TRANSLATION

Now I toss up the sticks.
I will throw the sticks for the corner.
(The highest score was made by this throw.)

Analysis.—This song is peculiar in that the first and last tones, as well as the larger part of the melody, are on the upper part of the compass. The fourth constitutes about 20 per cent and the major third about 40 per cent of the intervals.

As the boy sang he threw the sticks near his own feet, then nearer and nearer to his grandfather, until at the fourth throw the sticks were at his grandfather's feet and the game was won. He sang this song after he had won the game and in it he calls upon his grandfather to pay his stake. In games or contests between mythical characters the stake is a life. It was said, "The boy was half crying as he sang the song because he felt so sorry to kill his grandfather, but he felt he must do it in order to avenge the death of his father at the hand of the old man." After singing the song he killed his grandfather with a club.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

having had to be abandoned because a Papago woman during a rainy night had slept there. According to the notions of many primitive people, she was at the time unclean, and became the cause of the building of a new lodge. At the native cemetery many makai have been interred who on feast occasions are invited to take part with the living.

The old man's son had married a woman who was reputed to be a prophet—a female makai, with whom the principal men from Quitovac and other localities at times consulted. She looked about thirty years old and had been totally blind for three years. According to her own account, she had previous to her blindness suffered for a year from violent headache and pain in the eyes. I have seen Indians made blind through small-pox, their eyes covered in a similar way with large whitish spots over the iris. In the house of this couple were held the nightly meetings that usually took place at the new medicine lodge, as the latter had been temporarily profaned by the interference of an ox that had browsed and torn the straw of which its dome-shaped roof was composed.

I proposed to my Papago interpreter, Clemente, that we should attend that evening, as nothing worse could happen to us than to be told that our presence was not desired. A brisk fire was burning as we entered, making the interior look attractive though there was no outlet for the smoke except through the door. Several mats had been spread on the earthen floor around the fire for the participants to sit upon. Two were placed for Clemente and me, on which we immediately seated ourselves, thus

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

being able to breathe freer in the lower stratum of air. As soon as all were seated, including members of the family, the old medicine-man took the word. Without further formality he began to tell about the creation of the world by Elder Brother Ĭitoi and about the deluge. After having dwelt on these themes for half an hour or more, he asked my interpreter if I believed the world was created as the Papago believe, or if I entertained the belief of the Mexicans. Clemente very diplomatically answered that he had never asked me of my beliefs. The lore of the tribe arouses strange feelings even in a civilized Papago, for an Indian is nothing if not religious, and Clemente became eloquent, confessing at the start that he, having been brought up among Mexicans, knew little of his own religion. A man of position from Quitovac, on a visit to La Nariz, expressed his opinion that surely all nations have different religions and different gods, and the Papagoes were contented to have theirs, Ĭitoi.

Among the Indians who were serviceable here was a man of slightly darker complexion than usual, but tall and of very fine appearance, as evidenced in his name, Rainbow. His family were also nice and in his house I felt at home, changing films for my camera in the cool shade of the dwelling and even photographing the inmates. With him I visited ancient fortifications on the dark looking hill, of igneous origin, hardly four hundred feet high, which gave La Nariz its name. Where the trenches begin, about half-way up, there is a large stone as high as a man's chest; on its flat top were small artificial excavations in a row, each looking like the inside of a cup,